

Continued from Fifth Page.

knows no other law. For the time it is law and Constitution. All other agencies, small and great, executive, legislative, and even judicial, are absorbed in this transcendent trine power, which the time declares its absolute will, while it holds the scales of justice and the sword of the executioner. If it has been rarely exercised in our country, and never on an extended scale, the power does not less have a fixed place in our political system. As well strike out the law of self-defense, which belongs alike to States and individuals. Martial law is only one form of self-defense.

That this law might be employed against Slavery was first proclaimed in the House of Representatives by a Massachusetts Statesman, who was a champion of Freedom, John Quincy Adams. His authority is such that I content myself with citing the law under the sanction of his name, which becomes more authoritative when we consider the circumstances under which the doctrine was put forth, repeated and then again vindicated.

It was as early as 1838, that Mr. Adams first employed what he called "The war power and treaty-making power of the Constitution." Then it was that he declared:

"From the time that your slaveholding States became the theater of war, civil or foreign, from that instant the war power of Congress extended to interference with the institution of Slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from the chain of indentured slaves taken or destroyed to the coercion of the State bound with Slavery to a foreign power."

Again, on the 7th of June, 1841, after many years of reflection, and added experience in public life, he uttered a statement by showing that universal emancipation might be accomplished through this extraordinary power.

Afterward, on the 15th of April, 1842, for the third time he stated the doctrine in the House of Representatives, and challenged criticism or reply. I forbear to read the whole speech, though it is worthy of constant repetition. An extract will suffice:

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority extends to the time, the place, and all municipal institutions, Slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from being true that the power of Congress is limited to the subject, not only the President of the United States but the Commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

And then again he asks, in words applicable to the present hour:

"If civil war come, if insurrection come, is this beleaguered capital, is this beleaguered Government to see millions of its subjects in arms, and have no right to break the fetters which they are forging in the name of the power of the Government can sweep this institution into the Gulf?"

The representatives of Slavery fumed and raged at these words and at their venerable author; but nobody answered them. And they have stood ever since in the records of Congress, firm and impregnable as adamant.

It is a protested controversy which is now drawing to its close, Massachusetts has done much. She first gave the example of Universal Freedom within her borders; and ever since that early day she has borne a leading part in all efforts against Slavery. It is her children who have never failed in this cause, where anything was to be done, and who have borne the burden of this discussion, and also the heavier burden of obloquy which has long rested upon all who pleaded for the slave. It is Massachusetts, who, with patriotic ardor, first leaped to the rescue when the Capital was menaced by slavery, and by a happy coincidence, on the 19th of April of this year, consecrated herself anew by the blood of her children, in being the first State to do and first to suffer.

It was also a Massachusetts General who first in this conflict proclaimed that our camps could not contain a slave; and it was an illustrious Massachusetts statesman who first unfolded the beneficent principle by virtue of which, constitutionally, legally, and without excess of any kind, the President and Commander General may come more than a conqueror, even a Liberator.

Massachusetts will be false to herself, if she fails at this moment. And yet I would not be misunderstood. Feeling most profoundly that there is now an opportunity, such as rarely occurs in the history of the world, for the redemption of Africa, where this one spot, like the blood of Achilles, where this great rebellion may be wounded to death—I calmly deliver the whole question to the judgment of those on whom the responsibility rests, contenting myself with reminding you that there are times when not to act carries with it a greater responsibility than to act. It is enough for us to reveal the hidden power of the Government, to handle for a moment its deadly weapons, which are yet allowed to slumber without assuming to declare that the hour has come when they shall flash against the sky.

But may a good Providence save our Government from that everlasting regret which must ensue if a great opportunity is lost by which all the bleeding wounds of war shall be healed, and peace be linked forever with liberty. Saul was cursed for not heaving Agag in pieces when in his hands, and Ahab was cursed for not destroying Benhadad. Let no such curses ever descend upon our Government.

So many slaves, so many enemies, unless this ancient proverb has ceased to be true, there are now 4,000,000 of enemies intermingled with the rebels; being 4,000,000 of allies to the National Government. Can we afford to reject this natural alliance, inspired by a common interest, and consecrated by humanity? There is another motive to such an alliance which cannot be forgotten. Without it, our country will be inevitable, and when it comes it will be wild and lawless. This should be prevented, if possible. But if Liberty does not come from the tranquil and beneficent action of the Government, it will come in blood, amid the confusion of families. All this was foreseen by the Emperor of Russia, when, on the 21st of September, 1858, he called upon his nobles to unite with him in Emancipation, "which," he nobly declared, "ought to begin from above to the end that it may not come from below." And now this very year 20,000,000 of Russian serfs have peacefully passed out of the house of bondage. Cheered by this great example, let us not forget that if we fail, from this day forth, we are lost.

There is another practical advantage where the action proceeds from the Government. The interests of loyal citizens can be protected. Compensation may relieve the hardships of individual cases; nor can I object. Never should any question of money be allowed to interfere with human freedom. Better money than slavery, and a single slave. A bridge of gold would be cheap, if demanded by the retreating fiend.

Fellow-citizens—I have spoken frankly; for such has always been my habit. And never was there greater need for frankness. Let patriots understand each other and they cannot widely differ. All will unite in sustaining the Government and in striking back the Rebels. But this cannot be done by any half-way measures, or by any lukewarm conduct. Do not hearken to the voice of Slavery, no matter what its tone of persuasion. Believe me, its friends are more deadly than its enemy. If you are wise, prudent, conservative, practical, you will strike quick and hard—style two, where the blow may be felt—strike at the unsmiling of the Rebellion. Strike in the name of the Union, which only in this way can be restored—in the name of Peace, which is vain without Union, and in the name of Liberty also which will bring both Peace and Union in her glorious train.

The Committee on Nominations reported as follows:

For Lieutenant-Governor—Edward Dickinson of Amherst, ex-Secretary of State—Richard Frothingham, Charleston, ex-Attorney-General—Frederick Foster, Worcester.

For Treasurer—Henry K. Oliver, Lawrence.

For Auditor—Levi Root, Abington.

The Convention unanimously confirmed Mr. Dickinson (Bell and Everett) for Lieutenant-Governor, and substituted Oliver Warner (Rep.) the present Secretary of State, for Mr. Frothingham.

Ex-Judge Abbott of Lowell (Dem.) was substituted for Dwight Foster, the present Republican Attorney-General.

The Committee's recommendation for Treasurer and Auditor was accepted. They both now hold the office.

The Rev. J. Freeman Clark offered resolutions declaring that the people of the State will rejoice when the time shall come in the wisdom of the Government to remove Slavery and to free all slaves within the lines of the Federal army, compensating loyal owners.

This resolution was tabled in the order of business and subsequently the motion to adjourn was carried without acting upon it.

Liquor-Dealers' State Convention.

STURGEON, N. Y., Tuesday, Oct. 1, 1861.

The Liquor-Dealers' Convention assembled in this city this forenoon.

The Convention is strong in numbers and respectable in character.

The delegates met in the hall of the Voorhes House, and were called to order at 12 o'clock noon.

The representation embraces many of the oldest and most extensive dealers in the State.

The Convention was called to order by Mr. A. B. Caldwell of Syracuse.

Mr. Henry Snyder of New-York was unanimously elected temporary Chairman.

On taking the chair, Mr. Snyder, who was loudly applauded, briefly called attention to the importance of the meeting, and urged upon his business associates the necessity of adopting for our own protection a policy that will evince the determination upon the personal rights of citizens, and put a stop to oppressive legislation, suggested by fanaticism and spiritous philanthropy.

Messrs. A. B. Caldwell and John Burke of Syracuse were appointed Secretaries.

Mr. John H. Williams of New-York moved that a Committee of eight on Credentials be appointed. The Chair appointed the following as such Committee:

W. R. Bruce of New-York, James Libby of Buffalo, Ira Greenleaf of Syracuse, Peter Smith of Albany, Samuel Maltby of Baldwinsville, Sylvester Towne of Oswego, Daniel Mitchell of Utica, Benj. M. Rice of Albany.

On motion of Solomon Schell of Buffalo, the following committee was appointed on Credentials: John Greenway of Syracuse, C. M. Minch of Geneva, Jas. Purdy of Auburn, W. Kruger of New-York, J. G. H. Smith of Rochester, Austin Gay of Albany, G. M. McQuade of Utica.

The Convention then took a recess till 2 o'clock P. M.

On the reassembling of the Convention, the roll of delegates as reported by the Committee on Credentials was called, and 175 delegates took present.

On motion, the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported the following officers:

President, Henry Snyder of New-York; Vice-President, S. A. Wilson, Geneva County; Secretary, J. McQuirk, Syracuse; Sylvester Towne, New-York.

Mr. Snyder addressed the Convention at some length, reminding the delegates that at the present time they were called upon by dangers more fatal to the interests of their trade than at any time heretofore experienced. The band of fanatics who had hitherto endeavored to oppress them by legislation, which they had successfully opposed in the courts, were now bound together in secret organization endeavoring to strike at their business a blow which would leave them without remedy. It was proposed, on the part of the Convention, that it should be the duty of the Convention to protect the rights of the liquor-dealers, and to see that no protection could be found in the courts against the machinations of fanatics. What are the liquor-dealers to do? Can they sit passively by and see their property destroyed, and themselves stigmatized as felons and punished as such, for the sake of a few dollars? This is the question which is now before them. It is the duty of the Convention to protect the rights of the liquor-dealers, and to see that no protection could be found in the courts against the machinations of fanatics. What are the liquor-dealers to do? Can they sit passively by and see their property destroyed, and themselves stigmatized as felons and punished as such, for the sake of a few dollars? This is the question which is now before them.

Mr. Snyder's address was warmly received, and the Convention proceeded to the consideration of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Executive State Committee, consisting of seven members, be appointed by the Convention, whose duty it shall be to protect the interests of the liquor-dealers of the State, who have been wronged by the action of the State, and to see that no protection could be found in the courts against the machinations of fanatics.

After a recess of one hour, A. B. Caldwell, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following:

Resolved, That the Constitution and laws of the respective States of this Union are designed by the people to maintain and defend their inherent rights, and among other things, to protect and foster the legitimate trade and commerce of the people, and to see that no protection could be found in the courts against the machinations of fanatics.

Resolved, That the rights of property are a vested right, and cannot be arbitrarily taken away, and that no protection could be found in the courts against the machinations of fanatics.

Resolved, That the liquor-dealers are entitled to the same protection as the other citizens of the State, and that no protection could be found in the courts against the machinations of fanatics.

Resolved, That the present excise law, entitled An act to suppress intemperance, and to regulate the sale of liquor, is a violation of the rights of the liquor-dealers, and that no protection could be found in the courts against the machinations of fanatics.

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